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539 A typical episode is related in the following legend.[a]

dyuᵃ-a'čikị

The wife of dyuᵃ-a'čikị died. Then he went to look for the immortals. The people went to see his dwelling; they searched for him. He saw them. At once this irritated him. He went to another place. There he made another plantation. Then his daughter attained puberty. He constructed her seclusion cell and left her there.

Then a small bird appeared before her. He held [in his beak] a grain of maize. She tried in vain to take it from him; he did not give it to her. She told her father. "Hold your tongue, dear one," he said. "This is an immortal!" Then the immortal again appeared. He gave her the grain of maize. The father planted it. His maize ripened. Then he began his [daughter's] puberty festival. He concluded it. He alone removed her [from seclusion] and sang with her. "Oh, what did you do, dear one," he said to his daughter, "that he [the immortal] gives no sign?" Then dyuᵃ-a'čikị grew very tired. He fell asleep. The daughter sat next to him in the hammock. Then, in spite of himself, dyuᵃ-a'čikị was awakened by those [the immortals] who had already entered. This made him really very happy. He looked at his daughter; she was already seated in the hammock with her husband.

Then he called everyone. They led her outside and round the house. They they reëntered. They gave dyuᵃ-a'čikị a wife [immortal]. Then they took them [outside]. They made them close their eyes. When they looked [again] they were already in a different land [that is, the immortals' country].

According to this version the miracle was accomplished because the immortals' maize brought by the little bird and planted by dyuᵃ-a'čikị was mixed with the ordinary maize from which he made the festive beer (chicha) that he and his daughter drank.

The Girl Carried Away by the Immortal

The puberty festival was drawing to a close. The virgin's uncle, his wife, and several women of related clans led her to the river for her bath, but the uncle was then so drunk that he could no longer perform the ceremony properly. His wife was still at the girl's side when a youth appeared in the form of a tapir. He was one of the immortals who had remained in the vicinity of the ancient dwelling of dyaí' after dyaí' had left with his companions. He carried off the girl and married her.

Much later she reappeared to her mother in the plantation. She brought her son with her in a carrying sling. She told her mother that she had been living among the immortals and asked if her mother would brew an especially strong drink (paiauarú) for the hair-plucking ceremony of her younger brother. Her parents complied with her wishes, and she came to the celebration with her husband. He brought a little of the immortals' beverage. He filled a tiny gourd and gave each of the celebrants a sip. All got drunk and in this condition went away with the married couple to the dwelling of the immortals in Igarapé ẽ'varã.

Messianic Movements

668 771 Messianic movements are based collectively on four principal features of Tukuna religion: (1) the personality of dyaí', the creator and founder of tribal culture; (2) the feeling of having offended him by the corruption of the primitive spiritual (not material!) culture owing to influences of civilization; (3) the possibility of the repetition of the cataclysms of ancient times; (4) the existence of the immortals and their tendency to appear to persons at the age of puberty.

[a] Literal translation of the original Tukuna text.

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Customarily, these manifestations are the following. A boy, or a girl in seclusion, begins to have repeated visions during which he or she converses with the ma:'-gita (p. 135), who sometimes conduct the young person's soul temporarily to their dwelling. From these immortals the visionary learns of the imminence of a cataclysm that will destroy the *civilizados*, and of the means by which the Indians may survive the disaster. Escape generally depends on their assembling in some indicated spot sheltered from the catastrophe, and on the performance of certain ceremonies. However, as soon as this assembly takes place, the Neobrazilians, judging the Indians by themselves, fear a revolt and with more or less brutality intervene to crush the movement. Such interference, however, does not prevent its resurgence at more or less lengthy intervals, as long as the four features cited above remain in vigor.

Thus the Tukuna told me that forty or fifty years ago the prophecies of a girl in Peruvian territory resulted in a gathering of Indians from both Peru and Brazil. One day Neobrazilians surrounded the assembly and attacked it with firearms, killed some Indians, thrashed the rest, and carried off the girl prophetess to an unknown fate.

Some ten years ago a young Indian named Aureliano, of Cuyarú on the Rio Jacurapá, began to experience visions. They made him a house set aside from the others, where he remained alone to receive the revelations of the immortals. Since the conduct of the assembled Indians offered not the slightest excuse for intervention on the part of the *civilizados*, they finally arrested Aureliano for failure to pay taxes on guitars and fiddles he had made.

The seer of São Jeronymo.—I am a little better informed on the last movement of this nature, which took place in January, 1941, two months before my second visit to the Tukuna.

In a spacious house on solid ground on the left bank of Igarapé de São Jeronymo lives the Indian José Nonato with his wife, daughter, and four sons. In order to reach the house from the bank of the igarapé it is necessary to cross over almost a kilometer of igapó. Parents and children appear to be pure-blooded Indians, the woman belonging to the Mutum clan, the father and children to the Muirapiranga clan. None of the family speaks even the most elementary Portuguese. All exhibit the Tukuna physical type, at best very coarse, in its crudest form. Only the second son, ñora'ne, is distinguished from the rest by his slightly more attractive features and a more intelligent look. In 1940 he was about thirteen or fourteen years old. When I saw him, I observed no pathological signs.

As 1940 wore on, the lad suddenly began to have visions. While he was fishing in his little canoe near the edge of the igapó, some distance away from the house, a white man appeared to him. (Later the lad repeatedly affirmed that the man looked just like me!) Seated alone in a canoe, the stranger approached the boy, sprang ashore, and began to talk to him, asking if he had caught anything. When ñora'ne said yes, the man asked for the catch, and left in his canoe, promising to meet ñora'ne at the same spot three days hence.

The boy returned home, where his changed demeanor aroused the attention of his parents and siblings: the merry youth had suddenly grown serious and taciturn. His mother extracted the confession that he had seen an immortal. She

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scolded the boy, saying that this business of seeing an immortal was a lie, and what he had seen was probably a demon (ñɔɔ'). But three days later, ñɔra'ne again met the apparition at the spot, as arranged. This time the visitant promised that on the following day he would visit the boy at his parents' house. In fact, the boy did catch sight of his figure the next day at the edge of the jungle surrounding the house and, springing up, at once ran off to meet him. His parents and siblings, who had been watching suspiciously, thought the boy insane, and ran after him to catch him, but ñɔra'ne disappeared in the jungle, and in spite of a careful search they failed to find him.

Three days later he suddenly appeared of his own accord. He declared that the son of *e'*pi, tɛkú-kɨra' (ñɔra'ne always referred to him as ta-na'tɨ, "Our Father!") had taken him far up the igarapé to his house on ẽ'varë Creek, where he dwelt with the immortals in possession of all the blessings of civilization. ta-na'tɨ charged him to tell the Tukuna the following: Everyone should assemble at the site of dyɔi''s abandoned house, taivegɨ'ne, clear a big plantation, and erect a large house in the old style for celebrating certain festivals. Afterward, a huge flood would come and annihilate all the *civilizados*, but the Tukuna at taivegɨ'ne would be spared.

Then, a kinsman of José Nonato went up to the igarapé to find the place described by ñɔra'ne, but failed. At last José Nonato communicated the message to the other Indians of the igarapé, and most of them obeyed the instructions with the utmost alacrity. José Nonato's family was the first to move to taivegɨ'ne, while the others were still manufacturing the necessary farinha for the projected move.

According to the opinion of many, this premature departure of Nonato was an error; he should have waited until all were ready. By January, 1941, most of the Indians from Igarapé de São Jeronymo were assembled at taivegɨ'ne. Since José Nonato himself had not the slightest authority in religious matters, an old shaman named Julião assumed command, but evidently his ability to direct such a movement was also deficient. Immediately a very extensive clearing was made with admirable speed, but the construction of the great house met with difficulty since no one possessed the requisite technical knowledge.

Meanwhile, the patrão of the Tukuna at Igarapé de São Jeronymo, Senhor Quirino Maffra of Perpetuo Socorro on the banks of the Solimões, got wind of the movement and immediately realized that, even if the religious part of the movement failed, the success of the economic and social aspects of the program alone would result in his losing the services of the Indians for his own purposes and, consequently, his control over them. In order to forestall this economic threat, he traveled to the Indians' gathering place, ridiculed the prophecies as absurd lies, and threatened to deport ñɔra'ne to Rio de Janeiro and to have the government annihilate the assembled Indians by aerial bombardment. (The Tukuna knew of aerial warfare from the Leticia territorial dispute between Peru and Colombia in 1933.) At the same time ta-na'tɨ announced through ñɔra'ne that he was withdrawing his aid from the Indians gathered at taivegɨ'ne because one of them had committed incest—that is, had broken the exogamic moiety restrictions—with one of Julião's daughters. As a result, the Indians returned home, each one to his old dwelling place, and for the time being the movement was a failure.

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ŋɔra'ne continued to have visions from time to time, almost exclusively of the feasts which ta-na'tʃ and his companions celebrated at Igarapé ë'varë, which were apparently carried out in the fashion of rich *civilizados*, with roasted oxen to eat, and so on. In his visions he also encountered me several times, since I was among ta-na'tʃ's companions. Since I always treated ŋɔra'ne kindly, giving him several small presents, he grew greatly attached to me and was unable to conceal his delight in my company, embracing me and following me about wherever I might go. ŋɔra'ne spoke not a word of Portuguese; he told his revelations preferably to several women and girls related to him, from whom I in turn heard them.

The Tukuna Religion and the Neobrazilians

The Indians will give absolutely no explanation of their religion to the Neobraziliana, especially to the priests. To satisfy importunate interrogators they usually affirm belief in "tupana" (l.g. for "god" or "saint") and fear of the "yurupari'" (l.g. for "devil"), but they reveal nothing about dyɔi' or ta-ë' or about their animistic beliefs. References in the literature, from Ribeiro de Sampaio in 1884 to Tessmann, are proof of this: there is always apparent the pretense of a belief in Christianity without any basis in fact. The Capuchin missionary Frei Fidelis has for several years been making praiseworthy efforts to learn something of the native religion. Until 1941, at least, he had learned nothing—nor had the Tukuna learned anything from him. They treat him well; they like him for his simple and affable ways but are secretly convinced, in spite of everything, that he can be only an enemy of their religious traditions; hence they continue to pull his leg with yarns of tupa'na and the yurupari'.

To illustrate the extent of Tukuna pretense of Christianity I might mention only that, at a puberty ceremony, I saw on a masquerader, and afterward acquired, a mask of tɔʃ' that sported the miter, cross, and reddish beard (imitated by hair of a squirrel's tail) of the prelate of São Paulo de Olivença. I also saw another demon masquerader who brandished as a dance staff a cross that could have come only from some Christian grave.

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as the western rainbow. Some cause the dangerous whirlpools of the Solimões River, but can be calmed by the priests.

The culture heroes.—The most outstanding character in *Tucuna* religion is Dyaí, the culture hero, who made people, established all tribal laws and customs, and gave mankind the most important elements of material culture. He was the demons' most feared enemy. At times harsh and cruel, he is never deceitful. Even toward his brother, Epi, an intruder and shameless liar, he is indulgent and kindly, mocking him and punishing him only occasionally. The *Tucuna* avoid using the name Dyaí and call him Tànáti (Our Father), Baiá, or Búi. Sometimes Dyaí is called Téginènapii-va-ya (the one of the right knee), and Epi is called, Tavenapii-va-ya (the one of the left knee).

A long myth cycle recounts the origin of Dyaí and Epi and their deeds. Dyaí, with a blowgun in his hand, and his sister Maváca, with a net pouch, were born from the right knee of Nutapa; Epi, with a spear, and his sister Aikine, with a carrying basket, were born from the left knee of Nutapa, who was later killed by a jaguar. The brothers avenged his death and resurrected him. Afterward, Dyaí acquired daylight, sleep, fire, and cultivated plants, and saved Epi from a series of difficulties into which he had thrown himself. The brothers were joined by Teci-ari-nuí, daughter of Aikine, whom Epi had seduced. Dyaí punished the seducer by compelling him to grate himself when he grated the genipa for painting the son of Teci-ari-nuí. After he again took a human shape, the two companions created men from fish caught with a hook. Finally, they separated, Dyaí going east and Epi west.

On the bank of the upper Igarapé Preto de São Geronymo the *Tucuna* showed the former site of Taivegíne, Dyaí's house; Epi's house, called Déi, is somewhat downstream. There Epi's son, Teku-kirá, lives today with many other immortals (iíne, or má/gita), the men whom Dyaí and Epi fished out of the water. At night during the full moon one can hear them feasting but no one dares approach for fear of becoming insane. Some mortals (dyunati) have become immortal by taking a drink offered by the iíne, whereupon they accompany the immortals to their residence.

The *Tucuna* have a legend of a world conflagration and a subsequent deluge.

The eclipses of the moon are caused by the struggle of a star with a heavenly demon of the Jaguar clan.

Messianism.—The *Tucuna* messianic movement springs from a consciousness of having offended Dyaí, the culture hero, by corrupting their ancient spiritual (not material) culture under the influence of the civilized people, and from a fear that the cataclysms of former times will be repeated. It also involves the tendency of immortals to appear during a person's puberty. In repeated visions, a pubescent man or woman in seclusion sees and talks with the immortals (má/gita), who sometimes may

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668 781 carry his soul (naáe) to their abode and keep it there for a time. The immortals foretell an imminent cataclysm, which threatens to destroy [787] civilized people, and instruct the Indians to save themselves by gathering [88.] at a sheltered place and performing certain ceremonies. As soon as the [648] Indians assemble, the civilized people quash the movement, fearing a threat to their interests. This happened in 1941, when the *Tucuna* met in Taivegíne, following the visionary instruction of a 13-year old boy named Naráne.

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